

Message Text

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 01 NEW DE 10976 01 OF 03 031631Z POSS DUPE
ACTION NEA-10

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 IO-13 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-05 H-01
INR-07 L-03 NSAE-00 NSC-05 PA-01 PRS-01 SP-02
SS-15 USIA-06 EUR-12 AID-05 COME-00 EB-08 FRB-03
TRSE-00 XMB-02 OPIC-03 LAB-04 SIL-01 OMB-01
STR-04 CEA-01 ACDA-07 DHA-02 AF-10 ARA-10 EA-07
OES-07 DLOS-09 /166 W
-----065070 032057Z /72

R 031333Z AUG 77
FM AMEMBASSY NEW DELHI
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 5171
INFO USUN NY 2258

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 1 OF 3 NEW DELHI 10976

E. O. 11652: GDS
TAGS: PORG IN US
SUBJECT: MULTILATERAL AFFAIRS: THE GOI'S MULTILATERAL DIPLOMACY

REF: A) STATE 159747 B) DELHI 9332 C) STATE 148782
D) DELHI 3090 (76) E) STATE 37591

SUMMARY. UNDER THE JANATA GOVERNMENT, MULTILATERAL DIPLOMACY
CONTINUES TO BE AS IMPORTANT TO INDIAN POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC
GOALS AS IT WAS UNDER THE GANDHI REGIME. THERE HAS BEEN A
HIGH DEGREE OF CONTINUITY IN THE GOI'S FOREIGN POLICY,
INCLUDING THE DESIRE TO PLAY A LEADING ROLE IN THE NON-
ALIGNED MOVEMENT AND TO SEEK TO DISTANCE ITSELF FROM THE
SOVIET UNION TO FIND A BETTER BALANCE AMONG THE GREAT POWERS.
THERE ARE DIFFERENCES, OR NUANCES, IN THE DESAI ADMINISTRA-
TION'S FOREIGN POLICY THAT MAY AFFECT ITS PREFORMANCE
INTERNATIONALLY. THESE ARE THE COMMITMENT TO "GENUINE"

NONO-ALIGNMENT; THE PRIORITY GIVEN TO RELATIONS WITH
NEIGHBORING STATES; AND A SHIFT IN RHETORIC FROM
TRADITIONAL THIRD WORKD DOGMAT TO A MORE PRAGMATIC
CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 02 NEW DE 10976 01 OF 03 031631Z POSS DUPE

EMPHASIS UPON NATIONAL SELF-INTEREST AND MUTUALLY
BENEFICIAL COOPERATION. THESE NUNANCES MAY LEAD TO
MORE FLEXIBILITY IN THE GOI'S POSITION ON SOME
INTERNATIONAL INTERESTS, BUT THERE ARE CONSTRAINTS
UPON INDIAN FOREIGN POLICY THAT WILL INHIBIT TOO MUCH
INNOVATION. THUS WE WOULD EXPECT GREATER RECEPTIVITY
TO OUR APPROACHES AND PERHAPS A GREATER WILLINGNESS TO

BE HELPFUL, IN LIGHT OF THE BEGINNINGS OF OUR MORE PRODUCTIVE RELATIONSHIP WITH THE GOI, BUT NO DRAMATIC OR IMMEDIATE SHIFTS IN INDIAN POSITIONS IN MULTILATERAL FORA. END SUMMARY.

1. INTRODUCTION, UNDER THE JANATA GOVERNMENT, MULTILATERAL DIPLOMACY CONTINUES TO BE AS IMPORTANT TO INDIA'S POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC GOALS AS IT WAS UNDER THE GANDHI REGIME (REF D), AND IN GENERAL, THE RELATIONSHIPS WITH THOSE COUNTRIES AND ORGANIZATIONS SET FORTH IN REF D CONTINUE TO INFLUENCE INDIA'S POSITIONS IN MULTILATERAL FORA. THERE HAS BEEN A HIGH DEGREE OF CONTINUITY IN INDIAN FOREIGN POLICY SINCE THE DESAI ADMINISTRATION TOOK OFFICE IN MARCH: THE GOI CONTINUES -- TO SEE ITSELF AS THE PRE-EMINENT POWER OF THE SUBCONTINENT AND TO SEEK INTERNATIONAL ACKNOWLEDGEMENT OF THAT POSITION; -- TO PLAY A LEADING ROLE IN THE NON-ALIGNED MOVEMENT, BUILDING UPON THE RE-ASSERTION OF ITS INFLUENCE INITIATED BY MRS. GANDHI AT THE COLOMBO CONFERENCE; -- TO SEEK TO DISTANCE ITSELF SOMEWHAT FROM THE SOVIET UNION IN ORDER TO FIND A BETTER BALANCE AMONG THE GREAT POWERS AND ENHANCE ITS NON-ALIGNED IMAGE; -- TO PURSUE IN MULTILATERAL FORA ITS ECONOMIC GOALS OF CONCESSIONAL FINANCING AND INCREASED EXPORT

CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 03 NEW DE 10976 01 OF 03 031631Z POSS DUPE

EARNINGS, WITH A RENEWED CONCERN FOR PROTECTION FROM THE HARMFUL INCREASES IN THE PRICE OF CRUDE OIL; -- AND, IN ITS PERCEPTION OF ITSELF AS A REGIONAL POWER AND A PRINCIPAL STATE INTERNATIONALLY, TO SEEK TO PROJECT A DUAL IMAGE AS BOTH A LEADER OF THE DEVELOPING COUNTRIES AND AS A MODERATING FORCE ON CONTENTIOUS WORLD ISSUES, BOTH ECONOMIC AND POLITICAL.

2. THERE ARE, HOWEVER, DIFFERENCE IN EMPHASIS IN THE FOREIGN POLICY OF THE NEW GOVERNMENT -- OR "NUANCES" AS THE INDIAN FOREIGN SECRETARY TERMS THEM -- THAT HAVE AFFECTED THE STYLE OF THE DESAI ADMINISTRATION AND MAY POSSIBLY AFFECT ITS PERFORMANCE INTERNATIONALLY. THESE "NUANCES" ARE (A) A COMMITMENT TO "GENUINE" NON-ALIGNMENT; (B) A NEW PRIORITY TO RELATIONS WITH NEIGHBORING STATES; AND (C) A SHIFT IN RHETORIC FROM HIGHLIGHTING NON-ALIGNED AND OTHER THIRD WORLD DOGMA TO A MORE PRAGMATIC EMPHASIS UPON NATIONAL SELF-INTEREST AND MUTUALLY BENEFICIAL COOPERATION. THESE TONAL DIFFERENCES DO NOT ALTER INDIA'S PERCEPTION OF ITS BASIC INTERESTS OR GOALS, BUT THEY DO INFLUENCE THE CONDUCT OF ITS FOREIGN POLICY AND MAY LEAD TO MORE

INDIAN FLEXIBILITY ON SOME INTERNATIONAL ISSUES.

GENUINE NON-ALIGNMENT

3. RELATIONS WITH THE USSR: WHEN THE NEW GOVERNMENT, MANY OF WHOSE LEADERS HAD ANTI-COMMUNIST BACKGROUNDS AND WHO RESENTED THE WHOLEHEARTED APPROVAL MOSCOW HAD GIVEN TO MRS. GANDHI, CALLED FOR A POLICY OF "GENUINE" NON-ALIGNMENT, IT WAS SEEN INITIALLY BY SOME OBSERVERS AS A REPUDIATION OF THE CLOSE TIES WITH THE USSR AND A SHIFT TOWARD THE WEST. DURING THE APRIL VISIT OF SOVIET FOREIGN MINISTER GROMYKO, HOWEVER, BOTH SIDES WERE EAGER TO STRESS PUBLICLY THE CONTINUITY IN THEIR RELATIONS AND THE COMMUNITY OF INTERESTS BETWEEN THEM. THE DESAI GOVERNMENT INSISTS
CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 04 NEW DE 10976 01 OF 03 031631Z POSS DUPE

THAT GOOD RELATIONS WITH THE SOVIET BLOCK MUST NOT IN ANY WAY INHIBIT IMPROVING RELATIONS WITH THE US AND WESTERN EUROPE, BUT AT THE SAME TIME IT IS CLEAR THAT THE NEW GOVERNMENT ALSO RECOGNIZES THE VALUE TO INDIA,

CONFIDENTIAL

NNN

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 01 NEW DE 10976 02 OF 03 031639Z POSS DUPE
ACTION NEA-10

INFO OCT-01 IO-13 ISO-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-05 H-01
INR-07 L-03 NSAE-00 NSC-05 PA-01 PRS-01 SP-02
SS-15 USIA-06 EUR-12 AID-05 COME-00 EB-08 FRB-03
TRSE-00 XMB-02 OPIC-03 LAB-04 SIL-01 OMB-01
STR-04 CEA-01 ACDA-07 DHA-02 AF-10 ARA-10 EA-07
OES-07 DLOS-09 /166 W

-----065049 032057Z /72

R 031333Z AUG 77

FM AMEMBASSY NEW DELHI
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 5172
INFO USMISSION USUN NEW YORK

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 2 OF 3 NEW DELHI 10976

PARTICULARLY IN TERMS OF ARMS SUPPLIES, OF ITS RELATIONSHIP

TO THE EASTERN BLOC AND DOES NOT WISH TO STRAIN THESE RELATIONSHIPS UNDULY. ON CERTAIN INTERNATIONAL ISSUES, SUCH AS SOME DISARMAMENT QUESTIONS, THE NEW INTERNATIONAL ECONOMIC ORDER AND ANTI-COLONIAL THEMES, INDIA HAS HELD POSITIONS SUPPORTIVE OF OR CORRESPONDING TO PROFESSED SOVIET POLICY, AND THESE POSITIONS ARE UNLIKELY TO CHANGE SUBSTANTIALLY. IN ITS DESIRE TO HAVE A MORE BALANCED RELATIONSHIP WITH THE GREAT POWERS AND IN PURSUIT OF ITS OWN INTERESTS, HOWEVER, THE GOI SHOWS SIGNS OF LESS CONCERN SOVIET SENSIBILITIES THAN IN THE PAST, AS FOR EXAMPLE, THE PRIME MINISTER'S STATEMENT IN PARLIAMENT THAT THE USSR HAS ITS SPHERE OF INFLUENCE IN THE INDIAN OCEAN, WOULD INDICATE.

4. GIVEN ITS DOMESTIC COMMITMENT TO HUMAN RIGHTS, FOR INSTANCE, IT IS UNLIKELY THAT THE NEW GOVT WOULD CONDONE SOVIET REPRESSION IN EASTERN EUROPE AS PAST REGIMES HAVE DONE FOR THE SAKE OF BILATERAL TIES. ALTHOUGH OPPOSED TO COMMENTING ON HUMAN RIGHTS IN OTHER COUNTRIES, EXCEPT IN REGARD TO SOUTHERN AFRICA AND TO THE PALESTINIANS, THE DESAI ADMINISTRATION COULD ALSO BE EXPECTED TO TAKE A MORE PRINCIPLED AND OBJECTIVE STANCE ON HUMAN RIGHTS IN GENERAL IN THE MULTILATERAL CONTEXT. THE CURRENT STATUS OF INDO-CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 02 NEW DE 10976 02 OF 03 031639Z POSS DUPE

SOVIET RELATIONS, THEREFORE, MAY PERMIT THE GOI MORE FLEXIBILITY TO PURSUE MULTINATIONALLY ITS STATED AIM OF JUDGING THE ISSUES ON THEIR MERITS AND CHOOSING IMPARTIALLY AMONG AVAILABLE OPTIONS ON THE BASIS OF BENEFIT TO INDIA. BY THE SAME TOKEN, THE DESIRE FOR A CLOSER DIALOGUE WITH THE WEST, PARTICULARLY THE UNITED STATES, MAY PROMPT MORE RECIPROCITY FROM INDIA ON SOME ISSUES THAN HAS BEEN THE CASE IN THE PAST, ALTHOUGH THE GOI WILL CONTINUE TO BE GUIDED PRIMARILY BY ITS OWN INTERESTS.

5. THE NON-ALIGNED MOVEMENT: THE RE-ASSERTION OF INDIA'S LEADERSHIP ROLE IN THE NON-ALIGNED MOVEMENT IN 1976 COINCIDED WITH THE DECLINE OF ALGERIAN INFLUENCE AND A MORE ACTIVIST ROLE BY MODERATE MEMBERS. WHILE MUCH OF THE NON-ALIGNED RHETORIC REMAINED AS RADICAL AS EVER AT COLOMBO, "MODERATION" WAS EVIDENT IN THE WILLINGNESS OF SIGNIFICANT NUMBERS OF MEMBERS, INCLUDING INDIA, TO TAKE RESERVATIONS ON ISSUES SUCH AS KOREA AND PUERTO RICO. THESE FIRST SIGNS OF CRACKS IN THE SOLIDARITY OF THE NAM, ALONG WITH THE GOI'S DESIRE TO SUPERVISE AS MODERATE AND NON-CONTROVERSIAL A MEETING AS POSSIBLE, RESULTED IN THE NON-ALIGNED COORDINATING COMMITTEE IN NEW DELHI IN APRIL 1977 ISSUING A FINAL DOCUMENT LESS OFFENSIVE TO OUR INTERESTS THAN USUAL. AT THE SAME TIME, IT MUST BE NOTED THAT THE TRADITIONAL RADICAL MEMBERS OF THE NAM DID NOT PUSH THEIR INITIATIVES AS FORCEFULLY AT THE DELHI MEETING THEY HAD AT PREVIOUS SESSIONS.

6. INDIA STILL VALUES THE SOLIDARITY OF THE NON-ALIGNED AND IS UNLIKELY TO STAND ALONE OR IN SMALL COMPANY ON ISSUES OF IMPORTANCE, REAL OR PERCEIVED, TO THE MOVEMENT. THE TWO POLITICAL ISSUES

THAT AROUSE THE GREATEST NAM INTEREST ARE SOUTHERN AFRICA AND THE MIDDLE EAST, AND ON NEITHER OF THESE DO WE SEE THE INDIANS GOING BEYOND UNOBTRUSIVE EFFORTS TO MODERATE LANGUAGE OR FACILITATE COMPROMISE. ANTI-COLONIALISM IS STILL A MAINSPRING OF THE NAM AND INDIA WILL NOT JEOPARDIZE ITS LEADERSHIP ROLE BY DEVIATING FROM THE

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 03 NEW DE 10976 02 OF 03 031639Z POSS DUPE

AFRICAN POSITION, ALTHOUGH IT CAN PLAY A CONSTRUCTIVE ROLE IN CERTAIN FORUMS AS THE INDIAN PERMANENT REPRESENTATIVE APPARENTLY HAS BEEN DOING IN THE SECURITY COUNCIL DEBATES. AS NOTED IN REF D, INDIA PURSUES THE ARAB STATES BOTH TO COUNTER PAKISTANI INFLUENCE AND TO BENEFIT ECONOMICALLY. DESPITE AN INITIAL IMPRESSION IN INDIA, AND A CONCOMITANT FEAR BY THE ARABS, THAT THE JANATA PARTY WITH ITS IMPORTANT HINDU NATIONALIST, ANTI-MUSLIM ELEMENT WOULD INTRODUCE A MORE BALANCED APPROACH TO INDIA'S MIDEAST POLICY, THE GOI HAS MADE NO MOVE IN THIS DIRECTION AND CONTINUES A POLICY OF SUPPORT FOR THE PALESTINIANS AND ARAB INITIATIVES. THIS WAS REFLECTED IN INDIA'S VOTING AT THE RECENT INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE.

INDIA'S NEIGHBORS

7. THE DESAI ADMINISTRATION'S DECISION TO GIVE PRIORITY TO ITS RELATIONS WITH ITS NEIGHBORS DOES NOT MEAN THAT INDIA SEES A LESS DOMINANT ROLE FOR ITSELF IN THE SUBCONTINENT NOR THAT THE GOI WILL BE LESS EAGER TO USE MULTILATERAL DIPLOMACY TO PROMOTE ITS REGIONAL INTERESTS AND TO CONTAIN PAKISTANI AND CHINESE POLITICAL INFLUENCE, PARTICULARLY AS THEY RELATE TO SOUTH ASIA. IT DOES HOLD THE PROMISE, HOWEVER, OF INCREASING COOPERATION IN THE SUBCONTINENT AND LESSENING THE MUTUAL SUSPICIONS THAT SOMETIMES SURFACE INTERNATIONALLY. FOR INSTANCE, THE PROGRESS BEING MADE WITH BANGLADESH ON THE FARAKKA ISSUE AND THE WITHDRAWAL OF INDIAN SUPPORT FOR BANGLADESHI DISSIDENTS ON THE BORDER LESSEN THE POSSIBILITY OF THESE ISSUES ARISING AGAIN IN THE NAM OR THE UN. SIMILARLY, SHOULD THERE BE PROGRESS ON INDO-NEPALI TRADE AND TRANSIT NEGOTIATIONS, THE TWO SIDES MIGHT PURSUE LESS RIGIDLY THEIR RESPECTIVE STANDS IN VARIOUS FORUMS

CONFIDENTIAL

NNN

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 01 NEW DE 10976 03 OF 03 031656Z POSS DUPE
ACTION NEA-10

INFO OCT-01 IO-13 ISO-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-05 H-01
INR-07 L-03 NSAE-00 NSC-05 PA-01 PRS-01 SP-02
SS-15 USIA-06 AF-10 ARA-10 EA-07 EUR-12 AID-05
COME-00 EB-08 FRB-03 TRSE-00 XMB-02 OPIC-03
LAB-04 SIL-01 OMB-01 STR-04 CEA-01 DHA-02 ACDA-07
OES-07 DLOS-09 /166 W

-----065392 032056Z /72

R 031333Z AUG 77

FM AMEMBASSY NEW DELHI
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 5173
INFO USMISSION USUN NEW YORK

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 3 OF 3 NEW DELHI 10976

REGARDING THE RIGHTS OF LAND-LOCKED STATES. ECONOMIC PROBLEMS AMONG SUBCONTINENTAL STATES ARE MAINLY BILATERAL. IN THE BROAD TERMS OF THE NORTH-SOUTH DIALOGUE, THEIR HAUNTERESTS ARE SIMILAR AND INITIATIVES IN THIS CONTEXT ARE AS OFTEN TAKEN BY SRI LANKA AND PAKISTAN AS BY INDIA. THE CONCERN THAT INDIA HAS FOR LIMITING PAKISTANI POLITICAL INFLUENCE, AS IN KEEPING PAKISTAN OUT OF THE NON-ALIGNED OR IN OPPOSING PAKISTAN'S CALL FOR A SOUTH ASIAN NUCLEAR FREE ZONE, APPEARS NOT TO BE REFLECTED IN THEIR RELATIONSHIP WITHIN PURELY ECONOMIC ORGANIZATIONS, SUCH AS THE G-77, EXCEPT IN THE SPECIAL CASE OF GOI OPPOSITION TO THE BHUTTO PROPOSAL OF AN ECONOMIC SUMMIT, NOW PROBABLY A DEAD LETTER.

8. THE DESAI ADMINISTRATION'S POLICY TOWARD CHINA IS ESSENTIALLY A CONTINUATION OF THE EFFORTS OF MRS. GANDHI'S GOVT TO IMPROVE SINO-INDIAN RELATIONS, APPARENTLY IN RECOGNITION THAT INDIA'S SECURITY ON BOTH ITS NORTHERN BORDER AND WITH PAKISTAN WOULD BE ENHANCED IN CONSEQUENCE. MANY LEADERS OF THE NEW GOVT HAVE BEEN HIGHLY CRITICAL OF THE PRC IN THE PAST AND ENTIRELY COMMITTED TO THE INDIAN POSITION REGARDING THE DISPUTED TERRITORIES THAT LED TO THE 1962 WAR, BUT THE GOI ON THE WHOLE HAS SOUGHT TO AVOID RHETORIC AND TO SPEAK CAUTIOUSLY OF THE POSSIBLE IMPROVEMENT

CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 02 NEW DE 10976 03 OF 03 031656Z POSS DUPE

IN TIES, MANIFEST SO FAR ONLY IN A MODEST RESUMPTION OF TRADE. SINCE PRC PARTICIPATION MULTILATERALLY HAS BEEN LIMITED PRINCIPALLY TO THE UN ITSELF, LITTLE CONFLICT IN INDIAN AND CHINESE REGIONAL INTERESTS HAS ARISEN IN THE INTERNATIONAL FORA, EXCEPT INsofar AS THE PRC HAS SUPPORTED PAKISTAN AND BANGLADESH IN THEIR INITIATIVES AGAINST INDIA.

PRAGMATISM AND COOPERATION

9. THERE IS INSUFFICIENT EVIDENCE, EITHER IN INDIA'S BILATERAL RELATIONS SINCE MARCH, TO JUDGE THE EXTENT TO WHICH THE DESAI ADMINISTRATION'S DISPOSITION TOWARD FLEXIBILITY AND MQ

UALLY

BENEFICIAL COOPERATION WILL BE EVIDENT IN THE ACTUAL CONDUCT OF ITS FOREIGN POLICY. THERE ARE SEVERAL FACTORS THAT MAY INHIBIT TOO MUCH INNOVATION: (1) THE GOI IS STILL SUBJECT TO THE SAME REGIONAL AND THIRD WORLD CONSTRAINTS THAT SHAPED MUCH OF INDIA'S FOREIGN POLICY SINCE INDEPENDENCE; (2) THE JANATA PARTY IS NOT YET AN INTEGRATED AND DISCIPLINED PARTY AND AMONG ITS DIVERSE FACTIONS ARE STRONG NATIONALISTIC ELEMENTS WHICH WOULD WATCH CLOSELY ANY COOPERATION FOR SIGNS OF COMPROMISE OF INDIA'S INTERESTS AS THEY PERCEIVE THEM; AND (3) IN THE AFTERMATH OF THE EMERGENCY'S RESTRICTIONS ON POLITICAL FREEDOMS, THE DESAI ADMINISTRATION IS IN EFFECT CONDUCTING ITS FOREIGN POLICY IN PUBLIC, SUBJECT TO CLOSE SCRUTINY IN PARLIAMENT AND IN THE PRESS, EQUALLY FROM ITS SUPPORTERS AND ITS ADVERSARIES.

10. THUS, WHILE OUR RENEWED DIALOGUE WITH INDIA GIVES A BETTER OPPORTUNITY AT HIGH LEVELS TO EXPLAIN OUR POLICIES AND SEEK INDIAN SUPPORT ON MULTINATIONAL ISSUES, SUCH EXCHANGES WILL NOT NECESSARILY RESULT IN THE NEAR TERM IN GREATER RECEPTIVITY TO OUR REPRESENTATIONS ON SPECIFIC ISSUES. WE THINK THAT THE GOI WILL LOOK FOR ISSUES UPON WHICH I CAN SUPPORT US AS EVIDENCE OF ITS GOOD
CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 03 NEW DE 10976 03 OF 03 031656Z POSS DUPE

INTENTIONS FOR A COOPERATIVE RELATIONSHIP; THE ISSUES WHICH IT WILL SELECT INITIALLY ARE LIKELY TO BE THOSE WHICH ARE NOT OF PRIME CONCERN TO THE NAM OR THE G-77, BUT RATHER THOSE POLITICAL OR PROCEDURAL QUESTIONS THAT DO NOT DEMAND A UNIFIED POSITION IN THE DEVELOPING WORLD. WHERE INDIA'S INTERESTS ARE CONCERNED, THE GOI WILL CONTINUE TO SEEK TO PROTECT THEM AS ASSIDUOUSLY AS EVER, WEIGHTING THESE INTERESTS AGAINST ITS WIDER POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC TIES. FOR EXAMPLE, INDIA'S EFFORTS IN THE PAST TO OFFSET THE HARMFUL INCREASES IN THE PRICE OF CRUDE OIL LED TO SOME FRICTION WITH OPEC COUNTRIES WHOSE REGARD INDIA VALUES. NONETHELESS, AS REPORTED IN NEW DELHI ("676, THAT GOI INTENDS TO PURSUE AT THIS FALL'S UNGA THE ESTABLISHMENT OF A FORUM WITHIN THE UN FOR A CONTINUED ENERGY DIALOGUE. ANOTHER INSTANCE OF GOI TENACITY WAS ITS PERFORMANCE AT THE SIXTH SESSION OF THE LAW OF THE SEA CONFERENCE. INDIA PLAYED A FAR MORE ACTIVE ROLE THAN IT HAD IN THE PAST IN MARSHALLING A UNITED G-77 STAND BUT IT HELD TO ITS POSITION REGARDING DEEP SEABED MINING. WE ARE UNABLE TO JUDGE WHETHER THIS RELATIVE RETICENCE OF THE INDIANS IS A RESULT OF THE POLITICAL LEADERSHIP TO BE RESPONSIVE TO OUR LOCAL CONCERNS EXPRESSED IN HIGH LEVEL CONSULTATIONS. WHAT IT DOES INDICATE, HOWEVER, IS THAT INDIAN POSITIONS ARE NOT EASILY CHANGED. WE WOULD ANTICIPATE, THEREFORE, GREATER RECEPTIVITY TO OUR APPROACHES AND A MORE FORTHCOMING ATTITUDE AS WE CONTINUE TO CONSULT THE GOI ON NOT ONLY BILATERAL BUT WORLD ISSUES OF IMPORTANCE, BUT NO DRAMATIC CHANGES IN INDIAN POLICY OR POSITIONS ON MAJOR MULTILATERAL ISSUES.

12. THE MULTILATERAL AFFAIRS OFFICER IS POLITICAL COUNSELOR
HOWARD B. SCHAFER
GOHEEN

CONFIDENTIAL

NNN

Message Attributes

Automatic Decaptioning: X
Capture Date: 01-Jan-1994 12:00:00 am
Channel Indicators: n/a
Current Classification: UNCLASSIFIED
Concepts: NONALIGNMENT, FOREIGN POLICY POSITION, INTELLIGENCE ASSESSMENTS
Control Number: n/a
Copy: SINGLE
Sent Date: 03-Aug-1977 12:00:00 am
Decaption Date: 01-Jan-1960 12:00:00 am
Decaption Note:
Disposition Action: RELEASED
Disposition Approved on Date:
Disposition Case Number: n/a
Disposition Comment: 25 YEAR REVIEW
Disposition Date: 22 May 2009
Disposition Event:
Disposition History: n/a
Disposition Reason:
Disposition Remarks:
Document Number: 1977NEWDE10976
Document Source: CORE
Document Unique ID: 00
Drafter: n/a
Enclosure: n/a
Executive Order: GS
Errors: N/A
Expiration:
Film Number: D770278-0429
Format: TEL
From: NEW DELHI
Handling Restrictions: n/a
Image Path:
ISecure: 1
Legacy Key: link1977/newtext/t197708101/aaaadidn.tel
Line Count: 389
Litigation Code IDs:
Litigation Codes:
Litigation History:
Locator: TEXT ON-LINE, ON MICROFILM
Message ID: f0c18c4e-c288-dd11-92da-001cc4696bcc
Office: ACTION NEA
Original Classification: CONFIDENTIAL
Original Handling Restrictions: n/a
Original Previous Classification: n/a
Original Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Page Count: 8
Previous Channel Indicators: n/a
Previous Classification: CONFIDENTIAL
Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Reference: 77 STATE 159747, 77 STATE 148782
Retention: 0
Review Action: RELEASED, APPROVED
Review Content Flags:
Review Date: 14-Mar-2005 12:00:00 am
Review Event:
Review Exemptions: n/a
Review Media Identifier:
Review Release Date: n/a
Review Release Event: n/a
Review Transfer Date:
Review Withdrawn Fields: n/a
SAS ID: 1404364
Secure: OPEN
Status: NATIVE
Subject: MULTILATERAL AFFAIRS: THE GOI'S MULTILATERAL DIPLOMACY
TAGS: PORG, IN, US, (DESAI, MORARJI)
To: STATE
Type: TE
vdkgvwkey: odbc://SAS/SAS.dbo.SAS_Docs/f0c18c4e-c288-dd11-92da-001cc4696bcc
Review Markings:
Margaret P. Grafeld
Declassified/Released
US Department of State
EO Systematic Review
22 May 2009
Markings: Margaret P. Grafeld Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 22 May 2009